PEACE NEWS

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Guess which country !

WORK CAMPS FOR PEACE NUMBER



Waving good-bye from a builder's lorry, with hands roughened from the unaccustomed handling of cement, sand and timber. In which country was this work-camp snapshot taken? Where would you expect to see eleven men and a woman, Europeans and Africans travelling like this?

You're wrong. It's a road-side scene in South Africa. The work-campers are leaving the village of Empusheni where they and the villagers have just completed a brick-built house for the pastor, sleeping for eight nights on dried grass in the church-cum-schoolroom.

Now turn to the centre pages and read how international work camps all over the world are making their contribution to the cause of peace.

Labour after Margate

By EMRYS HUGHES, MP

MANY explanations have been given for Labour's defeat at the General Election of 1955 but nobody has been able to blame the pacifists. For the official policy of the Labour Party has been exactly the opposite of the policy that the pacifists have been advocating.

Sitting in the Conference Hall at Margate last week I couldn't help thinking of the same Conference Hall and almost the same people who were there four years ago.

For it was at Margate four years ago that the Labour Party Conference decided to support the rearmament programme.

Some of us strongly protested at the time when the rearmament resolution was introduced by Attlee, supported by Shinwell, blessed by Morrison and even backed by Bevan.

Now it doesn't help much to say "We told you so," but if ever subsequent events have justified the protests and warning of a minority against the policy of the platform it is the history of what has happened to the Labour Party since 1951.

Then the Labour Government was in power and on top of the world.

What brought the Labour Government down?

Why Labour fell

It was the rise in prices that inevitably followed the rearmament programme and Korea and gave the Tories their opportunity. It was the decision to end the Health Services in favour of armaments that split the Labour Government and resulted in Bevan and Wilson leaving the Cabinet, and the bitter controversies and disillusionment that followed among the rank and file.

It wasn't the failure of Socialism on the Home Front; it was the economic and political consequences of Labour swallowing the idea that we could only deal with Russia by speeding up armaments, continuing two years' conscription and negotiating from strength.

When Labour swallowed that dose of poison at Margate in 1951 the political sickness of the Labour Party immediately followed. And whether the Labour Party recovers or not depends on how quickly it makes up its mind that it has to have a complete change of outlook and adopt what is fundamentally a pacifist attitude towards the issues that now face the world.

Now I didn't expect this year's Labour Party Conference suddenly to accept pacifism—that would have meant all the leaders swallowing their own words and the block votes suddenly going entirely differently from where they have been going for years. It is rather soon for that yet.

Signs of a changed mood

But there were signs of the changed mood that is inevitably coming in the debate on conscription, which is now becoming one of the key political issues.

Had the Labour Party come out boldly two years ago against conscription and last year against German rearmament and the provisions of the Paris Treaty, I believe it would have won the General Election.

But the Labour leaders couldn't make up their minds, their speeches were equivocal and hesitating, as they were over the H-bomb, and nobody could say what they really intended doing if they were returned to power.

So the people of Britain who could have been rallied against the complete futility of war in the atomic age didn't quite know what was the difference between the Party figureheads and didn't bother to turn out to vote Labour back in again.

At Margate last week the Labour Party Conference declared definitely for a cut in the call-up and Mr. Attlee himself made a speech questioning the value of a big conscript army.

Quite right, but rather late in the day; surely this should have dawned on Mr. Attlee and the Labour Party when they supported the Paris Treaty which depends on conscript armies and conscripts from Britain for 40 years.

Importance of rank-and-file

So now that Labour has come out definitely for a cut in the call-up it has to think again.

It can't honestly demand a cut in the call-up if at the same time it is in favour of a foreign policy based on a big conscript army. If all that Attlee has said about the H-bomb is true then Labour should come out for an end of conscription.

But apart from this small but perhaps significant decision, things after Margate remain very much as they were, with no new declaration of policy, except to instruct the executive to enquire and to report on this and that and the other thing, and precious little to inspire a dejected rank and file.

One gets the feeling that the future policy of the Labour Party in Parliament will be dictated by events and not the outcome of a clearly thought out policy coming from inspiring and imaginative leadership. Of course, how the Labour Party in Parliament reacts to

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GENEVA: MILITARY ARE "SCARED TO DEATH"

Moves to stop arms reduction

This assessment of Eisenhower's Geneva proposal for aerial inspection of military installations comes from Conscription News, Washington, USA.

THE dramatic Eisenhower proposal at Geneva to exchange military blueprints with Russia and to authorise the two countries to engage in aerial reconnaissance of each other caught everyone off guard.

Americans and Russians alike were surprised, key members of Congress having been informed only a few hours before. The American military, however, were not surprised for the idea had its origin among a group of young air force officers who were disturbed at the scanty amount of information the United States had about Russia. From them the idea went to the Joint Chiefs of Staff and then to Eisenhower.

Before it was finally proposed at Geneva, two of Eisenhower's military colleagues, Gen. Alfred Gruenther, the NATO commander, and Admiral Arthur Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff reviewed it and did the final editing.

The meaning of the proposal

Actually no opposition to the proposal on the part of supporters of the military would be likely once the proposal were fully understood. For the proposal is not a step toward disarmament, but a way of bypassing and preventing disarmament. It is an effort to prevent war by remaining heavily armed and by letting other nations inspect our armaments.

The one hopeful thing about the Eisenhower proposal is the assumption he makes that world war would be so destructive that it must be ruled out. In this sense it would be an advance if nations should as a matter of policy permit aerial observation.

But the dangers or evils in the proposal far outweigh this "advance."

Dangers in the proposal

1. It would permit the US to maintain the armaments system with all that it means in the way of involuntary military service, heavy taxation and military control of the nation;
2. It would continue the emphasis on a military foreign policy with military bases around the world. Thus American power would continue to exert itself even though it could not engage in large-scale war without its intentions being known in advance.
3. It would, by the maintenance of armed power by the USA, dash any hope of ending conscription inside Russia (with its social implications) as a result of disarmament or a significant reduction in arms. Similarly the allies of both the United States and Russia are put in the position of maintaining relatively large military establishments.
4. It would not necessarily prevent the use of military power in what might be called a localised war.

There is also always available the wherewithal for a world war and atomic annihilation if one or both nations should decide to take the risk or be drawn into it as a result of a "localised war."

Armament is US policy

The Secretary of the US Air Force, Donald Quarles, in a speech in Philadelphia the first week in September with the Air Attaches of foreign governments present, said:

"The free world must be sure that this deterrent capability is of such strength and flexibility that even if it suffers a sudden atomic attack it can still react with devastating power. Such capability does exist today in the free world. We intend that it shall exist in every foreseeable tomorrow, in fact until some other reliable basis for peace has been achieved."

James Reston, the Chief of the New York Times Washington Bureau, in comment on this, wrote:

"So when the Russians ask, as they have been asking in the United Nations disarmament talks, whether, if they accept our alarm system of inspection, we will adopt their system of banning and destroying all weapons of mass destruction, the answer is 'no'."

He added:

"The root assumption of United States official thinking is that both sides will retain atomic weapons and that this will compel peace . . . Secretary Quarles called it 'peace through effective deterrence.' Churchill, who is better and briefer at these things, called it 'a peace of mutual terror'."

Russia's proposals also inadequate

It must not be assumed that Russia's proposal is for disarmament. She has proposed reduction of armed forces to fixed levels of 1 million to 1½ million troops for the US, the USSR and China, 650,000 for Britain and France, and a limit of 150,000 to 200,000 men for all other countries.

The Russians are thinking of West Germany and Japan in proposing this latter figure, and since the US is counting on more effective rearmament of these countries, it seems unlikely to agree to this figure.

Russia also proposes that destruction of all bombs should begin after 75 per cent of the reduction in troop levels has been completed.

Thus, both Russia and the United States are thinking of maintaining armaments while

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7 out of 10 Labour Parties against Call-up

From L. J. CUMING
Secretary, No Conscription Council

A STRIKING demonstration of the increasing unpopularity of conscription was offered by the vote at the Labour Party Conference at Margate on Tuesday last week.

The figures on a motion to press for the abolition of conscription were: in favour 1,370,000; against 4,900,000.

At first glance this is a pretty conclusive verdict. But it must always be borne in mind that decisions at Labour Party Conferences are decided by a handful of powerful Trade Union leaders left free to interpret for themselves how the votes of their members shall be cast on many issues.

On this very question of conscription, for example, it is known that the votes of the powerful general unions — totalling over 1,600,000—were cast against our point of view. Yet there can be no doubt that not one in fifty of the unions' branches have ever discussed the subject.

I am confident that only three unions cast their votes against conscription: they were USDAW, Boilermakers' Union, and NATKE.

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And now have another guess!



It is Europe this time, but Eastern Europe and the first East-West "pick-and-shovel peacemaking" venture in a Communist country. See report by Roger Hadley, page 5.

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True charity is an excellent virtue; and sincerely to labour for their good, whose belief in all points doth not agree with ours, is a happy state. —John Woolman.

The peace the generals want

THE generals have been very busy telling us what we must do in a world that has been made safe from war by the H-bomb.

On August 9, President Eisenhower gave his approval to the US Compulsory Reserve Bill which provides for six years' military obligation. The President deplored that it did not provide for eight, and has stated that he is instructing the Secretary of Defence to prepare for the next session of Congress amendments to correct this and other shortcomings in the measure.

General Lewis B. Hershey was reported in the Boston Herald for August 30, as saying that this measure has virtually achieved the goal of universal military training that he has always urged, and he predicted that in five or six years every able-bodied boy will serve either in the Ready Reserve or be drafted for two years' service in the armed forces.

Generals Gruenther and Twining have both been urging that more men should be put at their disposal, and on October 12 Field-Marshal Montgomery said that he anticipated that within the next five years there would be available guided balistic missiles with a range of 300 to 400 miles, while in ten years there would be inter-continental rockets with nuclear warheads and a range of 5,000 miles.

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So one could continue with general after general looking forward five, ten, twenty years and further to the time when their ideas of "defence" ("if war should unfortunately come upon us") required in the conditions of modern warfare can be carried into effect. Lord Montgomery has indeed more advanced plans for the "distant future" when the war machine can be more highly developed, better organised, and equipped with more satisfying weapons that the scientists will be able to provide.

This, then, is what the Generals need for their peace:

An increased call-up.

Domination of civil life by the military.

Intensive nuclear weapon research.

These are the terms upon which the people are to feel assured of safety, the character of "peace through fear," the successor to "peace through strength."

In his address to the Royal United Services Institution, Lord Montgomery described himself as "an international man"; by that he means that as a soldier in command he is under obligation, not to the Government of his own country, but to the governments of a group of nations. Lord Montgomery is an international man, it should be noted, not in the sense in which Mr. Hammerskjold and the members of UN staff are, or should be, international men—at the service of the world. Lord Montgomery is at the service of some of the governments of the powers against the governments of other powers; and he gives his views as to the necessary concentration of power that the power struggle requires.

The world hesitates, and rightly, before the conception of world government because we are still a long way from having solved the problem of maintaining the integrity and reasonable independence of the individual person, and the practicability of democracy, in the face of the modern trend to the centralisation of power.

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If Lord Montgomery's conception of what war preparation requires under modern conditions is sound we have to accept as our defence arrangements a colossal concentration of power without concerning ourselves about the position of the human person.

While Lord Montgomery and his kind become international men the rest of us are to become international robots.

Organisation for war in modern times, he holds, requires that the air forces, as the dominant instrument of war, should be organised and controlled as a single weapon, and as a single organisation should be put under a single military authority, the commander of which should be an American. The three armed services organised separately today should be combined into one. There should also be a single political authority and this should be situated in North America. There should be military direction and control for civil defence.

Such is the kind of world in which we are to live as seen by the Deputy Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe. It is a world in which a score or so of statesmen and a similar number of soldiers will have an increasing measure of the power that corrupts. They will not, however, spread that power over the whole world because there will be two conflicting sets of them.

It does not seem to offer a very secure peace; but the price that is to be paid is certainly stupendous.

Echoes of the past

THERE were echoes of the past in the replies that were made at Margate when Victor Yates raised the question of the position of the MP who believes that the policy of war-preparation today is the road to catastrophe.

He had complained of a spirit of intolerance that he felt had lately permeated the Labour Party and Mr. Attlee denied that any such spirit was to be observed.

"I believe," said Mr. Attlee, "that conscience is a still small voice, and not a loud speaker." This is an aphorism that must provide Mr. Attlee with a good deal of satisfaction, for we have recollections of his making use of it a full quarter of a century ago, when he applied it, perhaps with more justification than in the present case, to the late Walter Ayles.

Whether or not intolerance is prevalent in the Labour Party there was Mr. R. J. Mellish to intervene in the debate to show that it is not absent.

He was sick and tired, he said, "of individuals who get cheap applause by hawking their souls around." This again we have heard before—from Ernest Bevin, and applied to George Lansbury; although we think it was his conscience rather than his soul that Lansbury was accused of hawking around.

Mr. Mellish is the Member for Bermondsey, the constituency that was represented for so long by the late Dr. Alfred Salter. How Mr. Mellish would have been nauseated by his predecessor!

Tolerance and conscience

WE have repeatedly expressed our view that the issue of armaments today is of such tremendous moral importance that the differences between pacifists and those who hold that we must depend on arms can no longer be accommodated within any reasonable degree of tolerance, and we believe that sooner or later Victor Yates and his colleagues in the Labour Party will have to face this fact.

This fundamental issue has always caused a good deal of discomfort to pacifists within the Labour Party, but today it is crucial.

The expression of pacifism within the Labour Party can only be tolerated if it does not endanger the application of the Party's policy. It can be tolerated, therefore, only when its ineffectiveness is assured. That is the official point of view, and it is not, of course, an unreasonable one.

On the other hand, we must frankly say that it is a very dubious pacifism that can feel that it has sufficiently implemented a conscientious objection to being involved in the creation of future Hiroshimas by refusing to vote in favour while refraining from voting against.

This is an issue that cannot for much longer be evaded. It does not apply only to pacifists, of course, as the resignation of Sir Richard Acland showed. In addition to pacifists, MPs like Mr. Beswick and Mr. Royle cannot feel that they will be retaining their moral integrity if they refrain from voting against an armaments policy that involves the manufacture of A-bombs and H-bombs.

The block vote

MR. BEVAN'S outburst at Margate has brought the Trade Union block vote up for discussion again.

The vote is no different in principle from the way in which many, probably the majority, of the individual membership sections of the Labour Party register their votes.

Where there is a division of opinion on a resolution in a local Labour Party, a careful democratic procedure would require that this division should be shown as nearly as possible in a divided vote at the Conference. Where there is only a single vote to be cast this, of course, is impossible, but even where the vote is multiple this division in recognition of a minority opinion in the local party is very seldom made.

The same considerations apply to the trade unions, with the differences that here it is always possible to make a division of the Conference vote although this is very infrequently done, and that the distortion of real democratic opinion in the case of the immense trade union votes is, of course, much more serious.

The settlement of this matter is a question for the affiliated bodies and not for the Labour Party itself. It is open to any trade union to decide that its vote shall be cast as a solid block or in such a way that account shall be taken of the different views held by its members.

BEHIND THE NEWS

Caucus control

THE worst failure in democracy—and this is much more serious than the question whether the votes of the unions are cast in block fashion or divided to take account of minority opinions—is that they are generally cast by people who have had no guidance from their members on the subjects upon which their votes are to be cast.

With very rare exceptions the matters to be voted upon at a Labour Party Conference have not been considered at the conferences of the unions, and the trade union representatives who can decide policy on these questions have received no democratic mandate at all. This also applies in general to the issues decided upon at the Trades Union Congress.

It is, indeed, rare that the issues to be dealt with at the Labour Party Conference and the TUC have even been under dicussion by the executive councils of the unions. The trade union leaders who attend these gatherings where the major issues of policy are decided are generally acting entirely upon their own responsibility. Labour Party policy is therefore inevitably mainly under the control of the inner caucus of leaders.

Quote

"When we draw our line of military defence in such a way as to include the front porch of our neighbour's home, it may be militarily defensible but is it also morally defensible? I refer, of course, to what seems to be our present plan to keep the present government of China from exercising jurisdiction over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu."—David Rhys Williams in The Churchman, USA.

The vote on the call-up

ALL that we have said should be borne in mind in connection with the examination of the vote on conscription that is made by Mr. L. J. Cuming, Secretary of the No Conscription Council, on another page.

It is highly probable that the majority of the unions whose votes have been cast in favour of conscription have never pronounced on the subject at their conferences at all.

Even where a conference decision has been given in favour of conscription the considerable minorities against have had no place in the Margate vote.

There will have been, of course, minorities in favour of conscription in the three unions whose votes were cast for its abolition, but the total minority left out of account on this side of the question would be very much smaller than that which was left out of account in the pro-conscription vote.

The opposition to conscription in the Labour Movement is very much larger than is registered in the Conference figures.

"Graduated deterrence"

"AN influential body of opinion on both sides of the Atlantic," says the Observer, "has lately come to favour the concept of 'graduated deterrence'," which means that that blessed word "deterrence" has already been found wanting.

Wars do not start by one of the powers (the aggressor) deciding that it will precipitate full-scale war. Wars creep up on the world over a local issue which the power taking action hopes may be kept local, but which the fears of the other powers rapidly expand into a world war.

Now, argues this "influential body of opinion," if an aggressor is not deterred by the other side's possession of the H-bomb from trying to resolve some local issue by force it would be impossible to bring the H-bomb into use because it would then have ceased to be a deterrent and would have become the universal destroyer. We must have, therefore, more moderate deterrents—tactical nuclear weapons, say, as small as the equivalent of 3,000 tons of TNT. These could be used (which means, of course, that there is not a great deal of confidence that these will deter either) if Moscow or Peking were to aggress in Persia or Burma, or were is some way to seek to nibble at the periphery of the West.

There is also the possibility, naturally (although this is not mentioned), that Moscow or Peking might regard something done by the Western powers (say in Indo-China) as an aggression or as an attempt to nibble beyond the periphery. The hope here is presumably that Moscow and Peking would also see the value of a policy of graduated deterrence that had failed to deter.

We have already expressed our view that this conception (urged among others by Captain Liddell Hart) is a dangerous delusion. What is glossed over, however, is the essential baseness of this attitude.

The power-struggle has been pursued up to the present at the expense of the catspaws of the two blocs. The fighting has been over the territories of the puppets of the powers as in Korea and Indo-China, and the main destruction has been confined to the catspaw peoples.

What "graduated deterrence" implies is an attempt to continue to carry on the struggle at the expense of those who are not equipped with the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

Security Council Contest

THE UN Security Council consists of the five permanent members and six other members, half of which come up for replacement by election each year.

This year the retiring members were New Zealand, Brazil and Turkey.

Election requires a two-thirds majority. Australia was elected to replace New Zealand and Cuba to replace Brazil. For Turkey's place the US backed Poland. Neither secured the necessary two-thirds majority, although Poland came within one vote of it. Russia then gave its support to Yugoslavia, but the necessary majority was not secured here either. The filling of this place was therefore deferred and the matter will be dealt with this week.

There is much to be said for the appointment of Yugoslavia in the present situation. It would break into the bloc alignment that can be perceived so plainly in the voting, and it would be of value to have on the Security Council another voice that would have a degree of independence of the blocs.

French tug-of-war

IT is hardly possible that the Faure Government in France can last much longer. It seems inevitable that it must crash—as France is in danger of doing itself—under the strains of its imperialism.

The Government is in the impossible position that it is supported by the Right on its Algerian policy, which is opposed by the Left, and supported by the Left on its Moroccan policy which is opposed by the Right.

Another round in the game of power politics

Letter from USA by A. J. Muste

MY newspaper today carries a series of comments on developments in the Middle East which, taken together, present an arresting picture of how the game of power politics is played—presumably all in "the spirit of Geneva"—in that explosive and oil-soaked region.

Premier Nasser's Egyptian government has successfully negotiated a barter deal in which Egypt exchanges cotton for Czechoslovakian arms. This has saddened important people in Washington and also, we are given to understand, in London.

The chief cause for this grief is that Communist, including Russian, technicians, propagandists of various sorts and under various guises will infiltrate into Egypt in order to show Nasser's soldiers how to use the Czech arms.

The Czechs scoff at such an idea and in a statement just issued, the Press Attaché of the Egyptian Embassy in Washington backs them up. The recent deal was a simple commercial transaction, he asserts. One party needed guns; the other needed cotton of which the other had a surplus. That's all there is to it.

It is true that Mohammed Habib, author of the release, goes on at some length about how heavily armed Israel is and how aggressive its government; but we may skip that. For our present purpose the interesting part of this statement is that he accuses the United States of having designs "inconsistent with the independence of Egypt" such as "military missions and the establishment of a co-ordinated military framework." There is no reason to question the correctness of this particular portion of Mr. Habib's statement. Only the most minor transactions in arms are, in these days, simple commercial transactions with no political implications and involvements.

Iran joins in

Meanwhile, the US furnishes more evidence of its involvement in the rapid moves in the Middle East by Washington's gratification over the announcement that Iran has finally decided to join the alliance of which Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan and Great Britan are already members, and the US an ardent sponsor.

Some days ago this move was still in doubt because it was understood that in case of war the US would be interested in defending only the Southern part of Iran, regarding the Northern as expendable. The Iranians had qualms about another line reminiscent of the Korean 38th parallel.

How this matter has been resolved has not yet come to light.

Harmless infiltration

In the meantime there is one other news item that we need to mark in order to round out our picture.

The Soviet Ambassador to Egypt, in spite of the fact that, according to Mr. Habib, Russian and Communist infiltration has nothing to do with the recent arms-for-cotton deal, recently held a news conference.

He took the occasion—apropos of nothing in particular, perhaps—to announce: "We will send economic missions, agricultural missions, meterological missions, and any other kind of mission you can imagine that will help these countries."

I think it is not sufficiently understood—certainly not in the US—that Western regimes are constantly engaged in their own varieties of penetration, infiltration and resultant "subversion."

The most significant difference is that in the case of the US it is predominantly businessmen, technicians and military, and they cultivate and use the political and economic ruling elements, for the most part, in the countries that the US wants to hold or bring into its power orbit.

In the case of Communist penetration, it is for the most part Communist Party organisers that are used along with technicians and there is less direct and extensive use of the military. Furthermore, the elements cultivated and used by Eastern bloc infiltration are usually the leaders of the labour and peasant organisations, and of the popular revolutionary movements; though they are certainly not above making deals with any elements that may be handy.

It will be necessary for the progressive elements to develop a clearer line in these under-developed countries if these lands are to achieve true independence and contribute decisively to the peace of the world.

END GLORIFI ON REMEM

THE Movement f Christ is petition concerning Armistic

The petition is bas already been sent t churches, to member leaders of secular o

"Many of us re sary of the Armis war," says the le gathered at the N in grief which was who were killed i battle of the bloodi were gathered, not to mourn their dea selves to the determ be no more war.

"Because of the the wickedness of n years, the second w many still live who the first war, a ne them to commemor who gave their lives

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'Sufficient is T And our de

"We ask that these sidered in connectio services.

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"We hope that you using your influence Armistice services ar military nature of the be eliminated."

Readers of Peace New their own witness a appropriate in support Movement.

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END GLORIFIED MILITARISM ON REMEMBRANCE DAY

THE Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ is petitioning the Queen on matters concerning Armistice Day celebrations.

The petition is based on a letter which has already been sent to leaders of the various churches, to members of the government, and leaders of secular opinion.

"Many of us remember the first anniversary of the Armistice after the first world war," says the letter, "when those who gathered at the National Memorial did so in grief which was still poignant for those who were killed in the various fields of battle of the bloodiest war in history. They were gathered, not to celebrate victory but to mourn their dead and to dedicate themselves to the determination that there should be no more war.

"Because of the folly of statesmen and the wickedness of men during the following years, the second world war emerged. Whilst many still live who remember the fallen in the first war, a new generation has joined them to commemorate the memory of those who gave their lives in a second catastrophe.

"It is suggested that if these commemorations are to continue, steps should be taken to divorce this national memorial service from its military trappings and to focus the minds of those who attend and who listen-in upon the best instincts which prompted men and women originally to gather at these services.

WORLD CHURCH'S VIEW

"I have been asked to remind you of the statements of the World Council of the Churches at both Amsterdam and Evanston to the effect that war was contrary to the spirit and teaching of Christ. We deplore the continued Church participation in the various national ceremonies which take the form of military celebrations. We suggest that such participation is contrary to the letter and spirit of this decision of the World Council.

"It may be appropriate that Christians should be reminded of the truth of the words which are usually sung at the Cenotaph:

'Sufficient is Thine arm alone,
And our defence is sure.'

"We ask that these matters may be considered in connection with the Armistice services.

"The crowds which gather at the Cenotaph do not need to be controlled by the armed forces and it is difficult to see why this ceremony should not be a completely civil memorial. In these days when men's hearts are buoyant with the hopes of peace between the nations, a display of armed power and the shouting of military commands is out of keeping with the deepest and finest national aspirations.

"We hope that you will consider seriously using your influence to ensure that the Armistice services are so altered that the military nature of the commemoration may be eliminated."

Readers of Peace News are invited to make their own witness as they may think appropriate in support of the action of the Movement.

Education Commission of the PPU discuss

PACIFISM IN SCHOOL AND HOME

St. Christopher School, of which Nicholas King Harris is the Headmaster, provides a complete scheme of education through the various stages between early childhood and the threshold of man- and womanhood. Self reliance and initiative are encouraged. The children's general life is arranged in such a way that they may grow up with knowledge gained from actual experience of the principles of democratic government. They are encouraged to learn that all service, however humble, for the good of the community is honourable and dignified.

For the freedom of the spirit self-control is necessary in an atmosphere in which fear is absent. St. Christopher School, Letchworth, believes that religion to be of value must be lived out in practical life, and it is this principle which is kept before the School in its everyday proceedings.

From JONE BURGESS

WHAT form should the witness of a pacifist teacher take in a non-pacifist school or society? How can the school itself be organised to witness to pacifism? What should be the personal pacifist conduct in home and school?

In answering these problems, when the Education Commission of the PPU held their annual general meeting in London recently, Nicholas King Harris said that it was firstly necessary to make a difference between home and school.

At home there is no doubt that children should be brought up in the values which their parents hold most dear. At school, however, it was necessary to provide tolerance of opposing views. Any quick way out savours of that very use of force which pacifists abjure. The pacifist teacher must, out of honesty, explain his own views to the children, but he must also explain the views of others, and if he is sincere he will find himself constantly obliged to reassess his own position.

A school, if it is to be built up in the spirit which will take away the occasion of war, must be organised equally for toleration and for individuality. To give practice in that mutual toleration and understanding which is the basis of pacifism, it is essential to have variety through bringing together children of different races, sex, intelligence, class, political and religious background. At the same time it is essential that the school should not lose direction and purpose, becoming a polyglot collection without a culture of its own.

In organising for individuality the teacher has to keep ever before him the fact that it is the child's own divine spark which he is trying to kindle into flame.

RULES, BUT

Rules are needed for the smooth running of a school but they should be for a distinct purpose and should allow of being waived.

As parents and teachers we all have power to a lesser or greater degree, and so humility is at once the most inattainable and the most necessary of the virtues. Discipline is a good thing, but it must not be obtained through fear. Should it be through authority, personal authority or love? Corporal punishment is inadmissable to a pacifist, but should righteous anger be put under the same ban?

On the other hand, if a teacher slaps a child in anger, he does at least show that he is human, which is not without its value!

A further meeting to discuss education and pacifism is planned for early Spring.

Druid atrocities were war propaganda

TWENTY members of the Peace Pledge Union Commission attended a "nature" service, conducted by the Rev. Will Hayes, at the ancient Coldrum Stone Circle in Kent, during August.

A gathering of approximately 50 people from a nearby Church joined in the hymn-singing, accompanied by music from mouth-organs and recorders.

The service, which contained passages from Shakespeare, George Borrow, Wordsworth, and Michael Fairless, ended with words from the Bhagavad Gita, "He who seeth Me everywhere, and seeth everything in Me, of him will I never lose hold and he will never lose hold of Me."

Speaking of the origin of the Coldrum Stones, Mr. Hayes referred to the world-wide association of stones with ancient forms of worship. He said that stone circles were the temples of pre-Christian Britain, and were used by the Druids, but they were built by an older race.

Tales of horror told about the Druids were originally the atrocity stories of their Roman enemies, and were probably the ancient equivalent of modern war propaganda.

"In war-time," he added, "the first casualty is Truth."

WHEN OUR SHIP COMES IN



NELSON didn't see the signal, and look where it landed him . . . on a column, remote and isolated, with the rest of the world milling around him.

Peace News cannot follow suit. We've got to be alive, we've got to be in and of this world, not isolated above it. So we cannot turn a blind eye to an appeal for funds.

Personally, I don't like this part of Peace News. It would be so much more attractive and interesting filled with pictures of Pacifists' Bonnie Babies, cartoons, verses, or even news items!

Every penny you send to us helps to lessen the length of the necessary period for continuing this appeal. Please don't let it go on running everlastingly, ad nauseam.

Celebrate the Navy's day by sending your "ship" and other coins to Peace News. Please convert them into postal orders and cheques.

MAVIS JAMES

Contributions since October 7: £21 17s. 9d.
Total since January 1, 1955: £1,170 8s. 11d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley. Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

LABOUR WANT HIGH LEVEL KENYA INQUIRY

From our Parliamentary Correspondent

THE present administration in Kenya is in for severe criticism from the Labour Party when Parliament resumes soon after the summer recess.

The lead was given by the Labour executive recently in a strongly worded resolution which referred to "gross maltreatment" and condemned the fact that "justice is not being applied equally to the different races in Kenya."

Labour MPs can be expected to follow up this indictment expressed by their leaders and the Government will have to face strong pressure on the issue.

The resolution approved by the Labour Party executive expressed grave concern "about the facts revealed of the gross maltreatment whilst in custody of the Kikuyu prisoner, Kamau Kichina."

It further recorded concern about the subsequent proceedings in court.

"This case, following upon others," declared the resolution, "has deepened the anxiety widely felt in the United Kingdom and overseas that justice is not being applied equally to the different races in Kenya."

The Labour executive urged the Government to institute "a high level judicial inquiry" into the circumstances leading to the death of Kamau Kichina, the proceedings in court in this case and into other similar cases.

They want *active* members

SINCE its inception two years ago, the Pacifist Youth Action Group has suffered from "a lop-sided division of responsibilities," Ian Dixon, at the second Annual General Meeting on September 24, said that this problem had now been tackled.

The future Pacifist Youth Action Group will be split into working parties. Ian Dixon, reappointed General Secretary, will be acting as liaison between the parties.

"This year has been disappointing in many ways," said Ian Dixon, "but the destruction of numerous illusions has led to a more practical analysis of our difficulties. This fact and the numerical expansion of PYAG has multiplied the group's potential effectiveness."

Chris Farley, Membership Secretary, reported that although membership was expanding, by no means all the members were active.

PYAG is a London Group, but its magazine, price sixpence, available from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1,, can be sent to anyone, anywhere.

Pay increases attract cannon-fodder

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"THE economic crisis has been overcome by rearmament," said John Loverseed, Chairman of the Fellowship Party addressing a packed public meeting in Conway Hall on October 3.

"Every year we spend £100 million in foreign currency maintaining our armed forces in Europe, and this means that it is impossible to spend foreign currency elsewhere.

"The Conservative government has recently increased the forces pay to attract more cannon fodder, but had forgotten those who had served its purpose—the maimed of previous wars.

"Nor could we have faith in the Labour Party which was unrecognisable as the party of high principle of Keir Hardie's day. It had involved us in commitments with the U.S.A. supporting German rearmament, and the atomic and hydrogen bomb, and its constitution made progress from within impossible.

"Only when we renounce war," he maintained, "could we plan for abundance." It was not enough for politicians to come to church on Sunday, and shelve Christian principles for the rest of the week. This country would never get back to peace and prosperity until it returned to the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In spite of the Geneva talks the American and Soviet blocs suspected each other. We in Britain should take the lead and say we will not be involved in another war, but would disarm and have nothing to do with the Russian or American armed alliances. By positive mediation we should lead the nations away from war.

"The taking of life by any means is utterly wrong and immoral."

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From The Editor's Notebook

IN JOYA DE CEREN

WERE he still alive, Pierre Ceresole would be amazed to see how his work camp idea has spread throughout the world.

I have just been looking at a list of camps which have taken place this year.

There have been regular weekend camps in Tokio and in the Philippines; India has seen at least 1,000 work camps; others have taken place in Mexico, El Salvador, Lebanon, Puerto Rico, Algeria and West Africa.

Most of the camps held outside Europe are what I would call "War on Want" projects: building dams, roads, schools and medical centres.

Among the notes on my desk is this one on a camp at Valle de La Esperanza, El Salvador:

"Date of opening and closing: continuous. Project: programmes to raise living standards."

In Joya de Ceren (also in El Salvador), from July to August the work campers were "making chicken houses."

To keep these projects going the work camp organisations have to beg and scrape for every penny.

How different it would be if they were engaged on atomic weapon research.

AFTER THE BOMBS

WORK with the International Voluntary Service for Peace featured as a condition to his exemption from military service, when Martin Tucker, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, appeared before Fulham Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors last Friday.

Martin said that after witnessing bombing raids at the age of seven, he realised that the blame fell to one man, and not to his commanders. From this theory sprang the knowledge that man must obey his own conscience.

Explaining his son's interest in the work camp movement, his father told the Tribunal that his family believed that the pacifist attitude without service to the community is of very little use.

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

THE KABAKA OF BUGANDA invited MICHAEL SCOTT, LORD and LADY HEMINGFORD and two members of the Africa Bureau staff, MISS MARY BENSON and MISS SIMS to travel back with him to Buganda and join in the festivities there.

From Buganda Michael Scott will go to the United Nations Assembly in New York.

HORACE ALEXANDER, who was the principal speaker with MRS. PANDIT at the commemoration of Gandhi's birthday in London, said:

"Today, when we think of Mahatama Gandhi, let us recall his multi-power, the matchless weapon of Truth and Non-violence . . . and re-dedicate ourselves to his doctrine."

A new monthly magazine, "Envoy" has been founded by KRISHNA MENON, former High Commissioner for India in London and now Indian delegate to UN.

Object: to promote friendship between Britain and India. Publishers: India and Britain Publications Ltd., 48 Strand, W.C.2. Price: 1s.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S visit to Britain this week is to be a quiet affair. He will be meeting some of his pacifist friends informally.

The Queen is to receive him while he is here. She will invest him with the Order of Merit—the only other foreign holder of which is PRESIDENT EISENHOWER.

GENEVA: *A Message to the Ministers*

PUBLIC MEETING

Speakers:

BERTRAND RUSSELL, Prof. C. F. POWELL FRS.
Sir RICHARD COPPOCK, The Rev. EDWARD ROGERS

Central Hall, Westminster. Friday, October 21 7.30 p.m.

Doors open 7 p.m. Admission 1s

Sponsored by: Earl Russell, Lord Boyd Orr, Prof. C. F. Powell
Tickets from C. HAMP, 37 Newton Rd., W.2., or at door



PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Two said: "I'll kill the first Japanese I see"

WORK camps in the Philippines have not only cleared swamps and jungles, bridged streams and ditches, but, according to Jessie Ash Arndt, Women's Editor of the Christian Science Monitor, broken down walls of bitterness and cleared out prejudice.

When a group of Filipinos decided to go work-camping overseas and chose to go to Japan they prepared themselves to do so with a spirit of forgiveness for the wrongs suffered during the Japanese occupation in World War II.

But when they got to Japan they found the young Japanese knew nothing of the atrocities perpetrated by their nationals in the Philippines; they felt only a sense of their country having been wronged because of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

So the Filipinos decided to invite an international team including Japanese to a project in the Philippine Islands the following year.

Jessie Ash Arndt's report continues:

Only survivor

Four young Japanese came, two men and two girls, as well as representatives from Korea, Thailand, Hong Kong, and a young man and his wife from the Marshall Islands, who were preparing to be missionaries.

The young man from the Marshall Islands, as soon as he found himself in this group, faced the challenge to prove the Christian precept of forgiveness which he had accepted.

In the war, he and all his family had been captured by the Japanese and he alone had escaped and survived. He had then said that he would kill the first Japanese he saw.

The precaution was taken by the Filipino camp leaders of having someone always with the Japanese visitors, and of taking them from place to place in cars rather than letting them ride on public buses, where their presence might incite resentment. The Japanese workers were kept unaware that they were being protected or that there was reason they had to be.

Then, one day, a Filipino under the influence of liquor rushed into the camp and threatened the Japanese. He was restrained and no harm came to them but when the Japanese asked "What does this mean?" they were told how the Filipinos felt and why.

Welcomed by an enemy

The two Japanese girls volunteered to stay longer in the Philippines and tour the islands with a good-will group, asking forgiveness in the name of their people for the deeds of the war years. In the group was the couple from the Marshall Islands and the Marshallese man, standing besides the two Japanese girls said: "Although I have lost all my family I have found two sisters."

This tour accomplished much in breaking down the bitterness among people who were reached. There were many instances of a change of attitude from bitterness to forgiveness.

The father of one of the camp leaders had also said he would kill the first Japanese he saw. But it was at his home that the two Japanese girls were welcomed after the camp closed.

The young Christians found that national and racial prejudice went down before Christianity lived and practised.

THIS IS THE INTE[illegible]NATIC

The time was March, 1953; the place, Mablethorpe, a small resort on the coast of Lincolnshire. Less than two months earlier great seas had overwhelmed its dykes and flooded streets, houses, and surrounding countryside.

The worst of the disaster had been remedied, but still the ground floors of the houses lay feet deep in sand and litter.

The householders, busy strengthening the defences against further disasters, were discouraged. How would they ever make their homes habitable again?

Suddenly a strange group of men and women appeared as if from nowhere and began to clear the mess from the houses.

There were a Fren[illegible]d a Colombian, a Ger[illegible] Indian, a Canadi[illegible]ple from many parts [illegible] Isles.

For a month t[illegible] them worked, and w[illegible] group departed th[illegible]nd not only a record [illegible] help but a feelin[illegible] affection in the hear[illegible] many of whom ha[illegible] set eyes on a "foreig[illegible]

The work c[illegible]blethorpe is an exampl[illegible] ment that, since [illegible]as spread through ever[illegible]

Thirty-five [illegible]e passed since the S[illegible] Cérésole set up [illegible] international camp [illegible]

BRITAIN

WHEN THE LORD MAYOR CALLED ON MRS. B.

TWO of the cherished traditions of the International Voluntary Service for Peace are that any work should be undertaken which will benefit the community without discrimination—and without conflicting with paid labour—and that the volunteer should be willing to work wherever help is most needed.

These principles took IVSP and its members this year into a great variety of jobs in all parts of the United Kingdom—painting and decorating schools, old people's homes, community centres and clubs; gardening, labouring, building and bricklaying. We worked in the slums of industrial cities, on the shores of Belfast Lough and in the quiet rural villages.

One of the first camps of the year was at the famous home for disabled men and women at Le Court, Hampshire, founded by Group Captain Cheshire. A team of about fifteen, including two lads from an Approved School, helped there in restoring the grounds and decorating out-buildings.

At the bigger of the Irish camps, where the team joined in transforming an old country house into a curative school for handicapped children, there was an organised study and discussion course on the the theme of "Tensions between religious communities" with visiting lecturers from both Northern and Southern Ireland.

Cordial Press publicity

There were seventeen camps in all, and people from some twenty countries took part in them, many of them having travelled great distances to reach them and almost always at their own expense. And wherever they went their reception was cordial and understanding, as publicity in the Press and on the radio demonstrated: "Youth lends a hand in the cause of international peace"; "Volunteer team helps old folk"; "From Germany to help widow B." were typical headlines in the provincial Press this summer.

The work among old people has probably caught the public imagination more than any other form of IVSP service in recent years. It began as an experiment in Hull, where in 1953 a team was put at the disposal of the local council for Old People's Welfare to clean and brighten the homes of old age pensioners in the slum quarters of the city (*some of the 1955 team are shown in the picture top left*). The Hull experiment was reported to other Old People's Welfare Committees and in 1955 five of them have used IVSP groups in the same way.

The case of Mrs. B. was taken by chance by a reporter but her circumstances were common to many of the old folk. She is an elderly widow, living alone in the centre of Birmingham in rooms which she could not herself repair but which, being in a clearance area, would not warrant expensive professional attention.

Her rooms and those of some thirty other people in the city were cleaned, re-papered and painted by IVSP members who went out each day in parties of three from the hall were they were living. There were three at work in Mrs. B.'s home one day—British, Vietnamese and Swiss—when the Lord Mayor looked in on them and she was able to tell him how they had already transformed her home. "This is a splendid and unique way of giving practical expression to international friendship," the Lord Mayor is reported to have said.

This particular kind of work continues in London throughout the winter, when week-end decorating parties are organised by the local IVSP group. There are thousands of old people wanting the same kind of help and many volunteers are needed to give it. It is a form of international friendship within the reach of all.

DIFFERENT COUNTRIES DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

Forty-two representatives from 12 organisations sponsoring work camps met in conference last month in France to exchange experiences and consider future developments.

This is what some of them had to say:

A work camper from the Gold Coast described how the educated people of the Gold Coast look down on manual labour. When he returns to his country he will try to win over this educated elite to the work camp idea. At first, he stated, such work will probably be mainly composed of West Africans, but it is hoped that it will become international and offer an opportunity for long-term volunteers.

* * *

A work camper from Egypt expressed a special desire to promote the work camp idea among university students in his own country. He is concerned that the students have long vacations but no constructive way of spending their time. He envisages physical improvements at the universities and perhaps canal digging for irrigation of arid land as the first projects. He felt that the international aspects of work camping in Egypt would come later.

* * *

A work camper from France emphasised the need for informing the general public about work camps. He feels that strong publicity the year round is necessary, and that a sincere volunteer can concern himself with this in his own home community.

* * *

A work camper from India described work camps as one of the most vital ways of bringing about peace by bringing together peoples of different backgrounds in a constructive way. He felt that Service Civil International in India by demonstrating three of its basic principles: simplicity of life, constructive attitude toward peace and voluntary work, was helping achieve that end.

* * *

A work camper from Jordan sketched some of the difficulties of organising international work camps in his country: the problem of getting governmental co-operation, the problem of choosing the project most needed and the problem of using voluntary workers where there are many unemployed.

* * *

A work camper from the Philippines said that after a year of planning through learning about rural problems and the organisation of rural life, students went to transmit technical knowledge to the villagers. They helped a local committee complete a project, such as a nursing clinic, a sports field or a community centre which would stand as a permanent contribution to the social or cultural life of the village.

An International Friendship Camp at Pembroke Dock

By WILLIAM G. SMITH

THIRTY-FIVE young people from Germany, West Indies, Spain, Gold Coast, Norway, Austria, France, Latvia, Yugoslavia, and India joined with fifteen British youths to make a success of the second camp of the Pembroke Dock International Friendship Society, held at Pembroke (S. Wales) during July and August.

The object of the Society is to promote international understanding, to encourage friendships between the young people of Pembrokeshire and those of other countries, and to bring about a fuller understanding of British ways of life.

The whole camp was informal yet carefully organised.

On the first evening, a dance was held to enable the campers to get to know each other. That evening there was struck a lively enjoyable spirit which was retained throughout the camp, and from that time we could see that success was ensured.

Members own ideas and previous experiences of camps were welcomed, and plenty of suggestions were made. They realised that there was a sincere purpose behind this camp, as well as being the chance of a fine holiday in this beautiful country on the farthest edge of Wales.

The campers, whose Society motto is "Above all nations, humanity," were housed in a local Grammar School, where all entertainment and sports facilities were available for them. Full use was made of the school's cinema projector, as many excellent films had been obtained, including "World without End," "Children of Hiroshima," and films of all the countries represented at the camp.

In a crammed fortnight of sing-songs, dances, discussions and excursions, they enjoyed many lectures and talks.

Desmond Donnelly, MP for Pembrokeshire, lectured on "One World," Dr. William Thomas, CB, late Chief Inspector of Schools in Wales, talked on "The World Family of Nations in a Scientific Age." Colonel Lowless, MBE, gave instruction on "Local Government," and there were talks by authoritative persons on Wales and the Welsh people, and on the various types of schools found in Britain.

Creating a conscience

One of the most interesting lectures was given by Mr. Jacob Jones, MC, BA, South Wales Organiser of the United Nations Association, who spoke on "The Declaration of Human Rights and its implementation by the United Nations."

This Declaration shows that a human being is at least worth as much as that document says, but it has already taken seven years to thrash out all the implications of the Declaration in an attempt to convert it to reality. It is, above all, a means of creating a conscience. Mr. Jones distributed copies to every camper, and it clearly had a profound effect upon them all.

An Open Day was arranged to thank and meet local people who had given financial support to the camp. In the afternoon their children were entertained and obviously enjoyed themselves, and it was felt that in gaining their interest and affection the camp had really achieved something.

In the evening, an informal and virtually spontaneous concert was given for the adult members, and the warmth and friendliness will never be forgotten.

It was the hard work and enthusiasm of Mr. Islwyn Griffiths, Honorary Secretary of the Society, which was responsible for the wonderful success of the camp.

This was a very small effort from a small town, but from such work can grow infinite bonds of friendship and understanding. Many of the campers (seen in picture right) will hold responsible positions in their own countries; they will never forget the camp and we shall never forget them.

The friendships made here will be permanent.



FRA

AFTER DISH[illegible] A TALK ON

From a report prepare[illegible] for the World Co[illegible]

THE little French [illegible] 300), a crossroa[illegible] Valley of the Jura [illegible] small factory, and [illegible] Protestant churches, [illegible] for a World Council [illegible] Camp.

Glay is near the pri[illegible] from England to Italy [illegible] Germany, and Paris [illegible] virtue of its position it[illegible] of armies and its fev[illegible] after the war, bear the[illegible]

During August, a gr[illegible] Asian, European, Af[illegible] levelled land, terraced, [illegible] for the Protestant lay [illegible] shovel, wheelbarrow and[illegible] six hours daily from 7 [illegible] a midmorning break.

Although primarily [illegible] included four Orthodox [illegible] a Roman Catholic, an[illegible] who describes himself [illegible] truth."

Comparing b[illegible]

Lively debate charac[illegible] groups as theoretical [illegible] practical answers. Patric[illegible] Michigan, who was at [illegible] Churches Assembly at E[illegible] summer, explained the [illegible] women sharing with me[illegible] professional tasks.

"Only in my generati[illegible] asked for and received [illegible] said Ethiopian camper, [illegible] discussion on the place [illegible] and society one evening

French housewives c[illegible] selves as to whether Frei[illegible] fied with their role ir[illegible] expressed the belief tha[illegible] greater part in the busi[illegible] that boys as well as girls [illegible] domestic tasks.

The young medical car[illegible] now studying in France a[illegible] duty at the camp, jokingl[illegible] sity for polygamy. Mo[illegible] plained the economic [illegible] behind polygamy.

Son of a Buddhist [illegible] mother, the Vietnamese [illegible] pated in work ventures [illegible] Yugoslavia and also in [illegible] camp.

A Greek girl told how [illegible] villages is still hard and[illegible] to men, but in the town[illegible] taking their place beside [illegible] women scholars and an[illegible] women in the profession[illegible] Spain too, a camper po[illegible] definite difference in th[illegible] cities and those in village[illegible]

The subjects for othe[illegible] included the Orthodox cl[illegible] political questions in Ge[illegible] witness to workers.

The World Council of[illegible] 30 camps, involving mo[illegible] young people, in 1955.



INTERNATIONAL WORK CAMP MOVEMENT

There were a Fren[illegible]d a Colombian, a German and an Indian, a Canadia[illegible]ple from many parts of the British Isles.

For a month t[illegible] them worked, and when the last group departed th[illegible]ind not only a record of invaluable help but a feelin[illegible] affection in the hearts of people many of whom h[illegible] set eyes on a "foreigner" before.

The work c[illegible]blethorpe is an example of a movement that, since [illegible]as spread through every continent.

Thirty-five [illegible]e passed since the Swiss Pierre Cérésole set up [illegible] international camp of volunteer workers. Now every summer sees work camps by the score, and a few continue the year round.

The organising bodies too have multiplied—some religious in inspiration, like the Society of Friends and the World Council of Churches, others secular like Cérésole's own Service Civil International. Some are specifically pacifist, but all, broadly speaking, share a common aim: to further international understanding by enabling small groups of volunteers to live simply and work manually together.

Not all the projects follow on the heels of calamity, as at Mablethorpe.

Camps are set up to help build houses, schools, roads, bridges and so on for needy communities, or to rehabilitate existing premises: the sole criterion is that there shall be need, and no other means of meeting it.

Many governments have recognised the worth of the movement; so have such bodies as Unesco and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.

While the world contains poverty and the threat of wars, the Work Camp will continue to provide a weapon for those determined to "do something about it."

DENYS KAY-ROBINSON.

FRANCE

AFTER DISH-WASHING A TALK ON POLYGAMY

From a report prepared by BETTY THOMPSON for the World Council of Churches

THE little French village of Glay (pop. 300), a crossroads community in the Valley of the Jura with a few shops, a small factory, and Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, has been the venue for a World Council of Churches Work Camp.

Glay is near the principal highway routes from England to Italy, Southern France to Germany, and Paris to Switzerland. By virtue of its position it has been in the path of armies and its few buildings, a decade after the war, bear the marks of shelling.

During August, a group of young people, Asian, European, African and American levelled land, terraced, and made a rock wall for the Protestant lay centre. With pick and shovel, wheelbarrow and hands, they laboured six hours daily from 7 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. with a midmorning break.

Although primarily Protestant, the camps included four Orthodox Anglicans, a Moslem, a Roman Catholic, and a former Buddhist who describes himself as a "seeker after truth."

Comparing beliefs, ideas

Lively debate characterised the discussion groups as theoretical questions received practical answers. Patricia Ray, of Allen Park, Michigan, who was at the World Council of Churches Assembly at Evanston, Chicago, last summer, explained the American concept of women sharing with men both household and professional tasks.

"Only in my generation have women really asked for and received a voice in society" said Ethiopian camper, Siefu Metaferia, in a discussion on the place of women in church and society one evening.

French housewives differed among themselves as to whether French women were satisfied with their role in the home. Several expressed the belief that men should take a greater part in the business of the home and that boys as well as girls should be trained in domestic tasks.

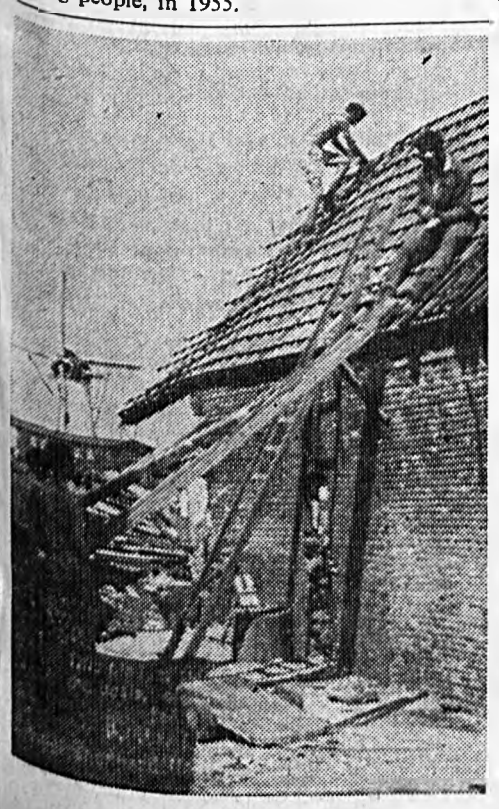
The young medical candidate from Vietnam, now studying in France and fresh from kitchen duty at the camp, jokingly reaffirmed the necessity for polygamy. More seriously, he explained the economic and social reasons behind polygamy.

Son of a Buddhist father and Catholic mother, the Vietnamese camper has participated in work ventures with Communists in Yugoslavia and also in a Roman Catholic camp.

A Greek girl told how the life of women in villages is still hard and their place inferior to men, but in the towns and cities they are taking their place beside men. There are many women scholars and an increasing number of women in the professions and public life. In Spain too, a camper pointed out, there is a definite difference in the life of women in cities and those in villages and countryside.

The subjects for other discussion sessions included the Orthodox church, education, and political questions in Germany, and Christian witness to workers.

The World Council of Churches organised 30 camps, involving more than a thousand young people, in 1955.



Left: On the job at Neuwerkerk

POLAND

"Capitalists" and "Communists" work—and argue—together

By ROGER HADLEY

The first work camp of young people of Eastern and Western Europe was held in Warsaw in August under the joint sponsorship of Service Civil International and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The team worked in the centre of the city, clearing a bombed site and making a children's playground. Roger Hadley was one of the two British representatives in the SCI contingent.

IT is doubtful whether any international work camp has ever consisted of two groups of volunteers representing such different and opposed ideas as the camp at Warsaw.

All the volunteers from Eastern Europe (they came from Poland, Russia and Bulgaria) were convinced Communists.

The volunteers of the Service Civil International (from Britain, France, Norway, Switzerland and India) had no similar unity of belief in any one political creed—their views stretched from Centre to far Left and even included anarchism—but they were certainly Western in outlook and more or less strongly opposed to Communist methods.

The camp then offered an excellent opportunity to test the effectiveness of the international work camp in one of its most important capacities, as a place for the conciliation of conflicting ideas.

If we take conciliation in East-West relations as meaning the achievement of full tolerance and co-operation between the two blocs it is obvious that we cannot expect to make conciliation a reality for a long time to come. Political and economic conditions will have to change on both sides first.

This was demonstrated quite clearly in a minor way in the Warsaw camp in the discussions we had with the Communist volunteers.

I do not think that many of us felt we could come to terms with the sort of intolerance they showed as for example in their attitude to non- or anti-Communists in Eastern Europe ("they are wrong and must be 'educated'") or towards conscientious objectors ("they might be a good instrument in the struggle for peace in the West but they certainly cannot be recognised in Eastern Europe").

I don't suppose the Communists on their side felt they could easily come to terms with people who gave some measure of support to a system "guilty of capitalist and colonial exploitation."

But this does not mean that the camp was unable to make any contribution to conciliation.

It was able to help in two important ways. First it helped the participants from both sides develop a better understanding of the other side's position.

For many of us from the West I think it brought home to us very clearly what we had known in theory before; the great extent to which material needs have yet to be satisfied in Eastern European countries and the very different traditions of these countries which should make us apply our own political criteria to them with caution.

In our turn I think it was possible for us to give the Communist volunteers a somewhat less distorted view of the West than they had held. For example on colonialism ("there are no schools for colonial peoples") domestic politics ("the Conservative governments have reversed all Labour's social legislation") and social and economic facts about our own lives.

It was also able to help through the personal contacts we were able to make. Friendships are probably made more rapidly and easily in a work camp than in any other community. At Warsaw they were certainly able to make political differences seem less important.

The Warsaw camp did not achieve a conciliation of the ideas of the two groups taking part but it was able to make some progress towards such a conciliation and to show us more clearly what are the principal obstacles to its achievement.

HOLLAND

In the steps of Pierre Ceresole

NIEUWERKERK (population 1,400), Dutch village which took the full impact of the devastating North Sea flood of February 1953—the death roll was 289—has had the help of the first British United Nations Association work camp in repairing the damage.

New bungalows, houses and footpaths will be the tangible results of this UNA venture.

The camp, started in 1954, has carried on this year. It is under the leadership of Jean P. Inebnit, Swiss-born lecturer at Leeds University.

A noteworthy feature has been the support given by Yorkshire building firms, who have encouraged their apprentices to join the project, paying expenses and providing other technical help.

John Stephenson, a teacher of building in Yorkshire has acted as works manager.

Typical of the interest the Dutch press has taken in the project was a long illustrated article in the Rotterdam Algemeen Dagblad (August 13, 1955).

Under the headlines "In the steps of Pierre Ceresole; Young people are working for a new Nieuwerkerk," it quoted Jean Inebnit as saying:

"Pierre Ceresole, a famous Swiss pacifist, son of one of the former Presidents of Switzerland, and his brother, a colonel in the Swiss army, were good friends of mine. In 1919, at an international meeting at Bilthoven, someone suggested to Pierre the idea of giving young people the opportunity of helping the inhabitants of places which are damaged by war. His brother agreed and in 1920, the first of these work-camps started at Esnes near Verdun, in France.

Pierre Ceresole never saw the full fruition of his work. When he died some years afterwards, he encouraged me to continue this work. I am doing that and remember his advice—"A real organisation of United Nations should include a constructive service for peace, namely the work-camp organisation."

The Dutch report continued:

People should not treat too lightly the work done in the village by these young men and women. The changing camp membership (everyone agreed to stay at least a fortnight though many stay longer) consists of about 25 men and 10 women. They work hard, very hard indeed. This is no holiday; in the evening, they often are too tired to go anywhere, after their task of eight heavy hours.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Jews and Arabs aid each other

The following is contributed by a young Israeli who has spent the summer in European camps.

OF all parts of the world, none is more clearly in need of work camps than the Middle East.

There is a material need—of large areas awaiting development, and of masses of poverty-stricken people awaiting the stimulus and skilled direction which work camps can give; above all there is the task of bringing together men who are at present deeply divided.

It is this application of the work camp to the conflict between Jew and Arab with which we in Israel are mostly concerned.

Israel's first work camp was held four years ago and was organised by the Quakers. Jews and Arabs shared in it and later, encouraged by the Quakers and Unesco officials, we formed our own work camp movement, called in Hebrew, Machanot Avodah Benleumiin (International Work Camps in Israel).

We have already discovered great possibilities for the work camp in our country, for in coming together to give our labours for the community, Jews and Arabs do learn something of what they have in common, and the force of their differences is put into another perspective.

Germans too

Our first MAB camp was at Shafir, where we helped to prepare a regional school. During the summer of this year a much larger camp was held, this time in an Arab community. The camp had wide publicity in the Israeli Press, and it is now our hope that this example of Arabs and Jews working together as friends can help to break the prejudices which at present divide us.

Two other camps were also held in the Middle East this summer.

In Lebanon the German branch of Service Civil International, in co-operation with a local social welfare organisation called Eagles Foundation, carried through a village improvement scheme in the village of Jibaa. German, Swiss, British, Australian and other volunteers joined young Arabs in this project.

Our hope in Israel is that the success we have begun to see in the camps inside our country can one day be repeated on the international level. By building the contact between work camp groups of different countries of the Middle East, perhaps we can touch on the problems which politicians have not yet managed to solve. We shall, however, need the help of people of good-Europe and America, who have the experience of work camps behind them.

FAU

The Friends Ambulance Unit was formed in 1914 and through two wars its members, who are conscientious objectors to military service, served in front line areas and in many parts of the world where they were able to help alleviate the distress of war.

Some of the young men now being registered as conscientious objectors join the FAU International Service, the peace-time activity of the Unit. They are particularly concerned to undertake work in the national and international fields which is needy and essential. This work is often the first to suffer when there is a further demand on our resources for defence programmes.

At home, members are working in forestry and in hospitals and for this service the organisation receives an earned income. Abroad, the work has recently been concentrated in flood and earthquake areas where there remains a vast and urgent need. This is particularly so in parts of Greece, where hospitals, schools and orphanages have been built to replace those lost in the 1953 earthquakes.

From those who are eligible for service with the Unit, especially those now registering as conscientious objectors, applications for membership are invited. From others we would be grateful for financial help for the work abroad, which depends entirely on voluntary support.

For further information write:
The General Secretary . FAU . Shaw Hill . Melksham . Wiltshire

As from 1 January 1956 the Unit HQ will be at Tunmers, Chalfont St Peter, Buckinghamshire Enquiries should then be sent to this address.

THE POLITICS OF NON-VIOLENCE

by ALFRED PARKER, is the sixth article summarising the American Friends Service Committee pamphlet, "Speak Truth to Power." The pamphlet is obtainable from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4., price 1s. 9d. or 25 cents from any AFSC office.

WE believe that the immediate impact of a commitment to non-violence is to liberate *individuals* to act morally and responsibly on the daily problems of the world community. Herein lies its immediate political relevance.

Thus in individual terms, a commitment to non-violence frees men from the painful dilemma that otherwise arises whenever the demands of justice conflict with the demands of power. It is manifestly impossible for a democratic state to change its standard of values until a substantial number of its people first change theirs.

This does not mean that men in government should not be challenged with the full weight of a programme for peace. On the contrary, Quakers have always believed it was necessary to "speak truth to power."

Our concern is to reach all men, the great and the humble, and though power in America ultimately rests with the humble, the great wield it, and must, therefore, carry peculiar responsibility.

In the first World War the US government originally made no provision for the rights of conscience, but the fact that it was confronted with a minority that refused military service was a political reality that could not be ignored.

In short, we believe a vocal minority has an important polarising effect that makes it politically relevant in a very practical way.

A growing pacifist minority, and the gradual modifications of national policy that it produced, would also make an impact on the international scene.

Our world is a dynamic world, with men and nations altering their habits, their attitudes, and their responses as the international climate shifts and changes. The pacifist wants to recognise this fact, and build policy around its existence.

A pacifist policy

What would be the broad outlines of such a full policy of international good will?

There would be revolutionary changes within the US itself. It is clear that the American people would be obliged to move farther in overcoming racial discrimination and religious intolerance. We would be more sensitive to the deadening impact of our industrial life, and to the inadequacy of prison systems, medical care, and housing.

Instead of thinking of our democracy as something which is final and complete, and therefore belonging essentially to the past, we would think of it as a growing and developing vision, belonging essentially to the future.

Any nation which, in this fear-ridden age, had the courage to trust the democratic process instead of bartering democracy for the illusory security of an atomic stockpile would speak with undreamed power to enslaved men the world over.

The US would give its support to the great social revolutions, which are both a major problem and a major hope of our time.

Regardless of whether men strive to overthrow domination from without or outworn feudalism from within, their determination is to achieve new dignity and status as human beings and to banish the physical poverty that has so long condemned them to misery.

If this took place, men who seek freedom would no longer conclude, as many already have, that the only source of support is from Communist nations, and they would cease to be available for Communist armies.

American support, moreover, would make it more possible for these revolutions themselves to be non-violent.

Ending military establishments

The US would devote its skills and resources to great programmes of technical and economic assistance, carried on under United Nations auspices and with full participation in planning and administration by the receiving peoples. The resources needed for these operations are so large that our own standard of living might be seriously affected; but the dividends would also be large.

The US would get rid of its military establishment. Various avenues might be taken to achieve this result. These may be effected through the United Nations or as a result of multilateral agreement but in the last analysis the pacifist policy would require unilateral action if agreement could not be achieved.

There is no escaping the necessity to be willing to act first ourselves if we are to have solid ground for getting others to act with us.

It will be said that for a nation to consider disarming alone in an armed world is madness.

But the fact that obviously stares men in the face to-day is that an armed world in this age is itself madness.

What might have happened, for example, if the remarkable East German uprising of June 1953 had had as its inspiration a US free from involvement in the effort to rearm Western Germany and in the tragic perpetuation of an impossible division?

As it was, the US position was a discouraging one. We welcomed the revolt, but could only stand idly by, unwilling to risk unleashing war, and yet unable to offer any other kind of encouragement.

Moreover, we were so preoccupied with power concepts that one of the most striking aspects of the uprising was largely overlooked:

The fact that a group of Russian soldiers refused to fire on the unarmed and non-

□ ON PAGE SEVEN

TEN YEARS OF UN

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the United Nations—which is being celebrated on October 24—is psychologically a good moment for retrospect, and prospect. Not that the number of ten has more magical properties than the nine of the bright shiners or the eleven of a football team, but in the minds of men it forms an "occasion." To celebrate the past is in measure to reflect on it, and can hardly fail to involve questions about the future.

IF you asked that mysterious personage the man-in-the-street about the United Nations you would expect to find indifference and ignorance. He knows little about it and reckons it irrelevant to him.

The ignorance was revealed when during the first Unesco conference in Paris a Gallup Poll was taken of the people of that city, asking "What is Unesco?"

Eighty-five per cent had not the slightest idea.

Seven per cent guessed and guessed wrong: their guesses varied from a two-way stretch of road to a patent medicine. Seven per cent were there or thereabouts. And only one per cent knew.

The indifference is shown in the fact that, whereas the League of Nations Union in Britain had more than one million members at its height, the membership of the United Nations Association is little more than 50,000 and has never risen to 100,000.

Yet the United Nations ought to be a focal point of our political thinking, and it is essential that its works shall be supported in every country by a live body of critical public opinion.

The reason for this indifference is not hard to find. It springs from two main sources.

Much of the support for the League of Nations arose from that sort of woolly benevolence which is perhaps in the long run more menacing than intelligent hostility. The war brought disillusion. The critics failed to realise that the failure of the League was their own failure; indeed they used the League as a scapegoat and never thought about their own sins.

KOREA

Then again when the post-war period brought continued difficulty and danger, as it was bound to do, unthinking optimism retreated a second time into the inner chamber of cynical pessimism, from which it has not yet emerged. One cannot admire the acumen of those who expected America and Russia to lie down side by side like the lion and the lamb in the Garden of Eden (or Bevin). I do not say which is cast for which rôle.

Among those with more knowledgeable concern, a large number would single out for special appraisal the Korean episode as a triumph for collective security against aggression.

This is not easy to sustain.

It is not, in fact, clear who fired the first shot—except that it was not the Americans, who were withholding military supplies from Syngman Rhee in the hope of holding him in check. It was clear that if it was not the South, it could easily have been so.

It is also clear that the people of North and South Korea alike have been through a devastation which burned their bodies and seared their souls; and the peoples of South Korea, after a taste of Communist tyranny and the war of liberation, said that nothing could be worse than the war of liberation.

It is clear that the clash of two great Power blocs is in no sense properly to be termed "collective security"; that is a piece of emotive political journalese, to be classed with the easy mouthing of peace, liberty and democracy on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

It is clear that the only lesson that you teach an aggressor if you push him back by force of arms is to be better armed next time.

To make a just estimate of the United Nations we must begin by asking exactly what it is. It was not, and was never meant to be a blueprint for world government. The United Nations represents the greatest degree of co-operation which the still divided nations are prepared to give.

If we complain that this co-operation has never limited national sovereignty we must blame ourselves, for our governments, Labour and Tory, have consistently stood against such limitation. "The peoples of the world are the United Nations." Further, UN is not a place where we can all say happy and meaningless "Yeses" to one another. It is a forum where we can work out our 'Noes" with words instead of swords, and round the conference table instead of on the battlefield.

By JOHN FERGUSON

Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a member of the Executive of the United Nations Association.

On the whole, in view of the deep-searching differences (and these not only across the Iron Curtain), it has done remarkable work in preventing these differences breaking out into major war.

Such an instrument of co-operation there must be, and it must have the support of the people if it is to be effective.

Second, the UN has taken an independent line as a peacemaker. Have we already forgotten the Azerbaijan crisis of 1946? Does it mean nothing that civil war in the Dutch East Indies was stopped, and that Indonesia is now an honoured and independent member of the UN? That bitter mutual destruction of Jews and Arabs was checked? That war over Kashmir has been avoided?

This new technique of personal mediation, exemplified by men like martyred Bernadotte, by Bunche and Graham is the most thrilling political happening for years.

What a chance was missed in Korea, where the UN Commission requested such mediation and it was never even tried!

Further, and perhaps basically, peace is not just the absence of war, but the positive well-being of the people of the earth. We are challenged by a world whose temporary overlords—though they have clung to their thrones for many centuries now—are Hunger, Disease and Ignorance. It has been the supreme achievement of the UN to shake their dominion.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The story is on too large a scale to tell in detail, but a few examples of the work indicate its general scope:

the settlement and resettlement of more than ten million refugees;

the medical examination and treatment of nearly half the children of the world;

the virtual extirpation of malaria from Greece and Italy;

the introduction of new strains of maize in Europe, yielding half as much again;

the use of the flooded rice-fields of Siam as fish farms at the same time;

the replacement of the sickle by the scythe in Afghanistan with 13 times the efficiency;

the re-opening of irrigation systems in the Near East; and

the pilot scheme to bring literacy to the Marbial Valley of Haiti.

If the UN had done nothing but these, its ten years of existence would have been amply justified.

What then of the future? United Nations must continue to be: that is plain. But how shall it grow? There are four conditions for its being really effective.

● ON PAGE SEVEN

Pioneers of the new Africa—9.

MICHAEL SCOTT

By Reginald Reynolds

IT was in London that I first met Michael Scott—gaunt and preoccupied, a dreamer who (I thought) was unlikely to recall our brief conversation.

That was before he became a world figure and a symbol of the Christian conscience in Africa—which happened in a spectacular way, in 1949, when Michael's appeal on behalf of the tribesmen in South-West Africa was heard at Lake Success and echoed throughout the world. A distant echo struck the headlines of the Indian press and I read with eagerness of this new struggle. I was at Delhi, on my way to attend the World Pacifist Conference, acutely aware that in this new India, for the freedom of which I had worked so long, any usefulness that I ever had was at an end.

Michael's challenge to the South African Government was a well-timed reminder that Africa now demanded the attention of people like myself. I did not know then that Michael had accepted an invitation to attend our conference in India. He arrived in time for the second week of it, which began on Christmas Eve at Sevagram.

During that week he seldom intervened in the discussions, but on the last evening he spoke.

Among many memorable contributions by distinguished leaders of thought from all over the world, that speech by Michael was outstanding. He ended with the prayer of a Herero Chief: "Oh Lord, help us who roam about. Help us who have been placed in Africa and have no home of our own. Give us back a dwelling place."

SUCH prayers must be answered through human hearts and hands. I met Michael again in Delhi, where many who had attended the conference found an opportunity to discuss African problems. Impressed by what Gandhi had achieved in India (and the work still being done by his true disciples) many of us wanted to discuss with Michael the possible applicability of Gandhi's methods in Africa. Michael was enthusiastic. I travelled with him to the foothills of the Himalayas, talking in the train, in the ashram where we stayed and on the steep slopes of the great mountains, high above the distant curve of the Ganges. Eventually I travelled back with him from Bombay; and before the long sea voyage was over I knew that my own next big journey must be to Africa.

So I owe much, personally, to Michael Scott.

Yet, when I made my African journey, three years later, we did not meet—although he was in Africa. In my simple plan, which was to keep going south from Cairo (on the assumption that sooner or later one must reach Cape Town) I found myself poised in the mountains of Southern Tanganyika, with the alternate possibilities of the long road journey south-west, to the Copper Belt of Northern



MICHAEL SCOTT

Rhodesia, or the route more directly to the south, through Nyasaland. Michael was in Nyasaland, which offered a strong inducement to travel that way; but no reply came to my letter. Later, at a hotel in the bush, half way to the Copper Belt, I discovered the reason. He had been arrested and deported.

AND yet the rest of my journey brought me, in some sense, very near to Michael. Of all the small, scattered band of European "progressives" in South and Central Africa, he was the most discussed.

To the average European he was the symbol of all that threatened European domination—a

★ ON PAGE SEVEN

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Four-point for Unite

● FROM

1—It must achiev meant as a people, but as a worl peoples can work out ably.

The first necessity Peoples Government

Curiously enough, PEACE John Foster D ought to represent the the nations of the worl a cardinal point of h course, he says, that w

2—We must re security, what the past, is an outmode security with modern w tion. Disarmament (an of armaments, either) collective suicide. Me tinue to exercise the has so splendidly begu slip.

HUMAN

3—We must no sacredness of This principle is writt But since the Human passed in 1948 it is i that offences of inter offences before the bar more, where the politi territorial dominion of peace of the world ou proper concern of UN. Africa, and surely o government has been th opposing the discussion

4—We must mak foreign policy citizen of the world ha food, clothing, shelte education. There m SUNFED (Special Uni Economic Developme Assistance to Under-de the whole work of th Partly because this i Partly because we shall peace in facing a com think that the quickest earth would be to inv Mars. But we do not r they are there, the Hunger, Disease, and Ig done much in ten years much remains to do, play our part.

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Were half the w camps and court,
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Four-point programme for United Nations

● FROM PAGE SIX

1—It must achieve universality. It is not meant as a club for like minded people, but as a world forum where differing peoples can work out their differences peaceably.

The first necessity is the admission of the Peoples Government of China.

Curiously enough, in his book WAR AND PEACE John Foster Dulles declares that UN ought to represent the de facto governments of the nations of the world. This has hardly been a cardinal point of his foreign policy! Of course, he says, that was before Korea.

2—We must recognise that collective security, whatever validity it had in the past, is an outmoded concept. There is no security with modern weapons of mass destruction. Disarmament (and not merely limitation of armaments, either) is the alternative to collective suicide. Meantime UN must continue to exercise the mediatorial function it has so splendidly begun and so unhappily let slip.

HUMAN RIGHTS

3—We must no longer stand on the sacredness of national sovereignty. This principle is written in the UN Charter. But since the Human Rights Declaration was passed in 1948 it is implicit, if not explicit, that offences of internal administration are offences before the bar of the world. What is more, where the political situation within the territorial dominion of one country affects the peace of the world outside, it is plainly the proper concern of UN. This is true of South Africa, and surely of Algeria. Our own government has been the principal offender in opposing the discussion of such issues.

4—We must make the first aim of our foreign policy to ensure that every citizen of the world has a decent standard of food, clothing, shelter, health, work and education. There must be priority for SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development), TA (Technical Assistance to Under-developed Countries) and the whole work of the Specialised Agencies. Partly because this is common humanity. Partly because we shall be more likely to find peace in facing a common task. I sometimes think that the quickest way to get peace on earth would be to invent an invasion from Mars. But we do not need to invent enemies, they are there, the tyrannical overlords Hunger, Disease, and Ignorance. The UN has done much in ten years to combat them. But much remains to do, and in that we must play our part.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

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MICHAEL SCOTT

★ FROM PAGE SIX

man to be hated and feared. Even to most European "liberals" he was "a bit of a fire-brand." They shook their heads over him, comforting themselves with counsels of caution.

But to a few Europeans, and to almost all non-Europeans whom I met, Michael's name was the symbol of justice itself, of rare courage and devotion. Michael Crosfield, who has had some unusual opportunities to mix with non-Europeans in South Africa, said recently that Scott stood almost alone among white men in the hearts of the great majority —the black and brown people of the Union.

He was the *only* European, or *almost* the only one, who could claim the confidence of the vast majority south of the Limpopo.

Another man—a former literary editor and dramatic critic of the Rand Daily Mail—agreed with Michael Crosfield. He spoke of his first meeting with Michael Scott, in the days when Africans from the Johannesburg slums went out to the high veld and made a new "home" for themselves, building the shanty town known as "Tobruk II."

Gangsterism (with the usual "protection" racket) dominated this miserable place; and Michael Scott was in the thick of it, a pillar of integrity and courage. In those days he was beaten up by African gangsters and his life was threatened.

Once, when my journalist friend was visiting him at "Tobruk" with some other Europeans, a message came that another attack could be expected at any moment. The message was delivered in an African dialect that the journalist happened to understand. He noticed how calmly, but with concealed haste, Michael speeded the departure of his European visitors, and he drew him aside. He had heard, he said, and understood. He felt bad about leaving, though he realised that white strangers had not Michael's moral assets and could not hope to be regarded with anything but hostility. But he had a stout stick with him—wouldn't Michael at least keep it, just in case . . . ?

Michael refused. "You see," he explained, "my strength lies in my weakness." Without so much as the token defence of a cudgel he could at least hope. On that basis he survived "Tobruk," as he also survived the lynch-mad fury of white farmers whose ill treatment of African labour he had exposed.

★

WRITING some time ago in Peace News about Caroline Mavuso, an African heroine of "Tobruk," I mentioned the affectionate way in which she remembered Michael. That was only one of many tributes I heard from Africans.

The reason for that universal affection and for the trust placed in him is something that I cannot undertake to explain in an article. Those who have not already done so should read Freda Troup's book, In Face of Fear, which gives an excellent account of Michael's activities in Africa from 1943 to 1949.

Michael had worked previously in South Africa for three years, as a very young man, before his ordination. He had first worked among lepers, at Grahamstown. Later he had taken Holy Orders, and gone out to India, after a variety of service in England, including work in the East End of London. Long before I met him at Sevagram, Michael had learnt to love India and to feel a deep reverence for Gandhi.

While this influence had not been sufficient to make him a pacifist, it may have been partly responsible for his unusual conduct, as a priest, during the war.

He believed that it was necessary to fight but that "the methods of war should not be represented as compatible with Christ's methods." This view may appear muddled, but it was followed out with typical courage and integrity. It was not as an army chaplain, but as RAF air crew that Michael tried to practise his principles. But a break-down in health forced him out of the RAF.

It was to be Africa's gain.

★

AT no time has Michael sought publicity. It has come, to his own embarrassment, because he has greatly cared where other Europeans have cared little or not at all, about the sufferings of non-Europeans—and because, of the few who do care greatly, he has been outstanding in courage. When, in 1946, the Indians of Natal organised passive resistance against the "Ghetto Act," aimed at their community, Michael joined the campaign and found himself suddenly a public figure. From that there could be no turning back. Whether in South Africa (from which he is now banned), at Lake Success, at Geneva or here in England, Michael's destiny from that day was to be in the centre of the struggle.

As Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau (recently moved to 30 Old Queen St., London, S.W.1) Michael's activities at present range from politics at the highest international level to raising money for trust funds, including the African Development Trust, which had greatly assisted the Clutton-Brocks in their work. (Another—the African Schools and Families Fund—was recently launched in order to assist all religious denominations in keeping open their schools in face of the South African Government's attempt to squeeze them out.) In addition to occasional publications on specific African problems, the Bureau issues an "African Digest," about the most useful periodical summarising African affairs.

Every African who comes to London to plead for justice on behalf of his people knows that he will find help at the Africa Bureau and a personal friend in Michael Scott.

It was with Michael that my wife and I were privileged to meet Tshekedi Khama, and under Michael's chairmanship that I heard the Nyasaland Chiefs explain to the press their case against Central African Federation. (One of the Chiefs was Gomani, an able and courteous man. He was "suspended" by the Government for opposing Federation, and it was for meeting this suspended Chief that Michael was later deported from Nyasaland.)

Among the Europeans of our time who have pledged themselves to the cause of justice and freedom for Africa, Michael Scott is indisputably the greatest—a fact which his own fellow-workers in this cause would be the first to admit.

Non-violence removes desire to conquer

□ FROM PAGE SIX

violent demonstrators. Not only were the demonstrators spared violence, but a number of their grievances were recognised and corrected.

How can this outcome be squared with the familiar argument that only naked power is respected by the Russians.

We must, however, face the possibility that hatred has gone so far, and injustice penetrated so deeply, that even a revolutionary policy of peace could not prevent international aggression.

A nation which had disarmed would not in that event abjectly surrender and let an invader run over and enslave it as is often alleged.

On the contrary, it would have open to it possibilities of non-violent resistance that offer more prospects of a creative and genuinely victorious outcome than is the case with violent resistance under modern conditions.

It is certain that whatever circumstances exist in a specific instance, any campaign of non-violent resistance will include these three elements of non-co-operation, goodwill, and non-violence.

The technique is effective because it undermines the morale of the enemy and removes his will to conquer.

When a soldier is received kindly, it is hard for him to continue to hate.

When he faces no threat, it is hard for him to continue to kill.

Moreover, he has no way to compel co-operation when faced with civil disobedience, and without co-operation the enemy will find his existence difficult indeed.

All of this is not to suggest that everything would proceed in idyllic fashion and that no suffering would occur in a non-violent resistance campaign.

We have tried to make it clear that readiness to accept suffering—rather than inflict it on others—is the essence of the non-violent life, and that we must be prepared if called upon to pay the ultimate price.

Obviously, if men are willing to spend billions of treasure and countless lives in war, they cannot dismiss the case for non-violence by saying that in a non-violent struggle people might be killed!

Finally, we have made no sweeping claims that it would work, but only that it appears to us more workable and more relevant than the barren doctrines of violence that now enslave us.

We believe that it merits the consideration of thoughtful men.

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Ch. Hall, Ashley Rd. Mtg. to discuss future activity. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship. Sec., Mrs. Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashtead, Surrey.

Sunday, October 23

CATFORD: 8 p.m.; St. Lawrence's Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." Cert. X. Tickets: 1s. 2½d. from Mrs. Hepworth, 151 Shooters Hill Rd., S.E.3.

POOLE: 3.45 p.m.; Skinner St. Congregational Brotherhood. Joseph Jackson, "The Police in a Christian Society."

Monday, October 24

TONBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m.; Adult School, Danvers Rd. Rev. Alan G. Knott, B.Sc. "Why Christians are not Pacifists." Public Mtg. FoR.

Tuesday, October 25

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m.; Town Hall (nearest stn. Catford Bridge). Donald O. Soper, Sybil Morrison. Chair, Rev. Mark Shirley. Adm. free.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., East Sheen. Harry Moore, BA, "Adventures for Peace." PPU.

Wednesday, October 26

BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Frederick St. Charles Marland, "In Search of Christianity in Russia." SoF, FoR.

Thursday, October 27

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Jack Roper, "The Fellowship Party." PPU.

Friday, October 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; 6 Endsleigh St. "Peaceful co-existence," Nancy Edmonds. Cent. London PPU.

Saturday, October 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 2 p.m.; Mary Ward Lecture Room, Tavistock Pl. Conf. of Area and Group Secretaries and Treasurers. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: Mary Ward Hall, Tavistock Pl. Social evening, 6–7 p.m. refreshments; 7–9 p.m. Frank Merrick, Arlo Tatum, Michael Tippett.

WALTHAMSTOW: 3 p.m.; Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd., Stanley Johnson, Chair. Ald. E. C. Redhead, J.P. Walthamstow and District Advisory Committee for Objectors and Conscripts.

Sunday, October 30

LONDON, W.C.1: 10 a.m.; Friends International Centre. "The Future of the PPU." "Any Questions?" session. PPU

Thursday, November 3

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. George Plume, "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution." PYAG.

Friday, November 4

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall, Old Market Street. Will Wilkins, MP, "Reconciliation in Industry." FoR.

GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; 208 Clyde St., Peace Pledge Union Group mtg.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m.; (refreshments from 6.30 p.m.) Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Kathleen Lonsdale, "The Scientist in Society." Chair, Allen Skinner. Peace News winter lecture series (No. 2).

Saturday–Sunday, November 5–6

CRICH, Nr. Matlock: 3.30 p.m.; The Briars Guest House. Week-end Conference "In Search of Greater Understanding." Guest Speaker: Minnie Pallister. Details from Gordon Woodburn, 34 Park Grove, Derby. PPU.

Saturday, November 5

LONDON, W.1: 3–6 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (Near Bond St. Stn.). Bazaar, Exhibition and Social. PPU Religion Commission.

Sunday, November 6

HOLTON BECKERING: 8 p.m.; Holton Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." Special bus leaves Lincoln G.P.O., Guildhall St., 7.30 p.m. PPU.

FINCHLEY: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 131 Nether St., N.12. Hallam Tennyson, "Bridges across Frontiers." SoF.

Monday, November 7

DERBY: 7.45 p.m.; Temperance Ho., 110 Osmaston Rd., "Children of Hiroshima." PPU.

Tuesday, November 8

GRANTHAM: 7.30 p.m.; The Picturehouse Cafe. "Children of Hiroshima." PPU.

Wednesday, November 9

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Hinckley Rd., Methodist Church Hall. "Children of Hiroshima." PPU.

Friday, November 11

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Sidney Bilson, "Propaganda." Central London PPU.

Thursday, November 17

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Howard Hutchins, "Cry Korea." PPU.

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KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace." Sunday, 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Rev. Claud Coltman, M.A., B.Litt.

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TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1–2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15–1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

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WHAT WILL THEY SAY BACK HOME?

"EAST is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," but they did at Portsmouth last week, when the naval squadron from Russia visited there. And East and West thoroughly enjoyed the experiment, and hope that it will be repeated frequently.

Russian conscripts, in groups of five or six, mingled with the English shoppers in their usual week-end scramble in and out of the large stores. Some Russian signs were displayed in the shop windows, and a staff of about 50 interpreters, drawn mainly from the ranks of retired Naval Officers, accompanied the Russians.

During the week, the men of the *Sverdlov* gave a party to English children; a football match was arranged between a Russian XI and the Royal Navy; a reception was given in the RN Barracks for 50 Chief Petty Officers, and for the Soviet junior ratings a get-together was held in the NAAFI Club.

Roger Rawlinson of Southsea, gave away a dozen copies of Peace News to the visitors. "Only once did I find an officer who knew English," he said. After saying "thank you very much," he walked down the street looking at Peace News together with his two brother officers."

Two American merchant seamen grasped their Russian counterparts by the hand, and posed whilst cameras clicked, so putting on record the fact that the "common people" are eager to pursue the Geneva spirit.

One of the Americans, shown here, remarked, "I don't know if I shall dare to show this picture back in the States!"

It's a picture which needs to be shown, if the lives of babies, such as this little one picked at random from the British crowd by the Russian sailor, are to be allowed to run a natural and peaceful course.



GENERAL

FROM PAGE ONE

making proposals that would to a considerable degree nullify the ability of the other to use its most effective weapons. The US is stronger in atomic bombs, whereas the Communists, in American eyes, could be stronger on the Asian-European land mass if between China and Russia, with no US bombs to worry them they had about three million troops supplemented by those of their smaller allies.

No nation wants disarmament

There is no evidence that any nation wants disarmament. Dorothy Fosdick, who used to be a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the US State Department, wrote in her recent book "Common Sense and World Affairs":

"Many persons in official and important quarters, far from wanting to search for any system for the international control and reduction of armaments and armed forces which would safeguard the security of every nation, are 'scared to death' of the idea. They are actually afraid the Soviet Union might sometime get 'sincere' and hope against hope she won't. They have let our vested interest in a vast armed services establishment frighten them off, and they cannot face frankly even the prospect of a readjustment in a national armaments policy to which they have become habituated."

In support of this, the New York Times editorially stated on September 8, 1955, that "Nobody in authority in any major government is at the moment contemplating disarmament." It said of the Eisenhower proposal:

"It would not call for repentance from anybody; it would just call for prudence."

Will there ever be a better time to abandon prudence and try repentance?

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EMRYS HUGHES, MP

FROM PAGE ONE

events is supremely important and this depends to a great extent on the rank and file in the country and especially on the type of candidates it selects at by-elections and the outlook they stand for.

Pacifists should resist the temptation to wash their hands of politics and give it all up in despair. What the Labour Party is doing and what its rank and file is thinking can be decisive at times of international and political crisis and tension, and it is clear that critical times lie ahead if we are going to move out of the period of Cold War into a new phase of international relationships, to relaxed tension, disarmament and peace.

To pacifists who remain in the Labour Party my advice is to be more persistent and active and tireless in their local parties, in their unions, and the Co-ops, and to do all in their power to influence their MPs.

Effects of new Call-up

by Bernard Withers

EDEN claims that the Government's proposals will reduce the burden of National Service. Will they?

The main proposal is simply to raise the age at which young men are called upon to register, which is the preliminary step to medical examination and enlistment. This is not a proposal but an accomplished fact. The Act provides for registration at 17 years 8 months, and it has been the practice to register young men in four groups each year, each group comprising those whose eighteenth birthdays fall within three months following the date of registration.

This year, however, one registration has already been dropped so that the age group will have been raised from 17¾-18 to 18-18¼ by the end of the year. (A similar course was adopted in 1948, when there were only three registrations, but this was redressed in 1952, when there were five.) The suggestion is that this practice may be continued so that, by the end of 1958 (when the conscription Acts will expire—if they are not renewed again), the registration age will be 19. This requires no legislation, nor even the consent of Parliament, since arrangements for registration are entirely at the discretion of the Minister of Labour.

DRIFTING YOUTH

The effect of this policy will be to intensify what is, by common consent, one of the most evil results of conscription: the boy who leaves school at 16 will now "drift" for about three years instead of two; and it is he, of course, who is least likely to be able to resist the temptation to drift. Those who are apprenticed to trades or are continuing their education will not be affected, since they can obtain deferment. It is the unprivileged who will suffer.

The Premier's anxiety, then, is clearly not for the individual conscript, who is going to be called up just the same, for the same length of service, but at a slightly higher age. The burden he is concerned about is the economic one. Perhaps he wishes to make a modest contribution to that reserve of labour which, as we know, is integral to any healthy economy. The contribution during the next six months will actually be about 20,000.

"At the moment," the Premier is not prepared to be responsible for a reduction in the period of service. "It would inevitably lead to a reduction in the numbers of fully trained men." It would also lead, as Sir Anthony forgot to mention, to a reduction in the numbers of conscripts who think it worth while to "volunteer" for a three-year engagement for the sake of the higher pay. "Officers Commanding units will encourage such enlistments," says the War Office handbook on National Service, but if conscript service were less than two years, encouragement would hardly suffice. Figures for "regular" recruitment, which are at present falsified by these engagements, would soon slump. However, a reduction in the period of service, in combination with the retarded rate of call-up, is not ruled out. A decision will be taken in that light by which every platitudinous politician gropes his way through this world of shadows: "in the light of future developments in the international situation."

The decision to recall National Service men to only one camp, instead of three, will certainly be welcomed. The "two or three" categories to whom this will not apply" presumably include the RAF reservists who are being trained in civil defence, since it was stressed, during the debates on the Civil Defence Act of 1954, that nothing less than two summer camps could produce a competent civil defender.

THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

COs? Well, the National Service Act says that the serviceman may be called upon for not more than 60 days' part-time service which means that he may also be called upon for less, or none. But the Act states unequivocally that the conditionally-registered CO must undertake civil work for 2 years and 60 days. Legislation would therefore be necessary to reduce this to the equitable term of 2 years and 20 days, but perhaps the Government will contrive to do without that. A Ministry of Labour spokesman says that they have the point in mind that the position is being examined very carefully.

Labour and the Call-up

● FROM PAGE ONE

The total voting strength of these unions is approximately 417,000.

This means that the balance of our votes came from constituency labour parties.

Of a total Constituency Party vote of approximately 1,300,000 we secured the support of approximately 953,000 or nearly 70 per cent of the whole.

That seven out of ten of the Constituency Labour Parties should vote to abolish conscription represents an enormous advance as against the previous year. Last year at Scarborough, we were unable to get the Conference to agree to vote on the subject at all; two years ago at Margate, they wouldn't even discuss it.

LETTERS

Our Case against Conscription

THE article by Victor Yates in Peace News last week seems to me to obscure our case against conscription by dangerous irrelevancies.

Young men are home sick; they don't like the food; they live uncomfortably; they are cold—or too hot; they have to wear uniform; they have an army hair-cut; they don't like being sent abroad; they are often bored . . . But what has this to do with the moral objection to war and conscription?

If one is doing a good job in a good cause one should be willing to face all these things. They are the very conditions which Garibaldi offered his volunteers, in a successful appeal to self-sacrifice. Admittedly there is a great difference between volunteers and conscripts. But the pacifist who is sent to prison will have to face most of the disadvantages listed by Victor Yates; and unless he is willing to do so his principles cannot be very firm. The non-pacifist will only feel contemptuous of people whose case against military service is that it brings some personal discomforts.

No doubt that is not what Victor Yates meant. But I am quite sure that any non-pacifist who picked up Peace News would reach some such conclusion from reading his article. That surely would be a pity.

Incidentally I could write an equally gloomy account of the discipline in a Gandhi ashram, the frequent boredom and all the miseries of young men and women training for non-violent action. REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

War and International Socialism

RON HUZZARD (PN last week) states the case of political pacifism as it developed during and after the first world war, but that pacifism entirely fails to meet the realities and demands of today.

It is, of course, a truism that wars will cease when men refuse to fight, but in actual fact peace depends upon the price people are prepared to pay for it, and sometimes the price is high. It is fairly easy to induce people to refuse to take part in certain kinds of wars, as was the case in the Hands off Russia campaign of 1919.

The wars of 1914 and 1939 were of a different order, and the third world war, should it come, will be different still. It will almost certainly be an ideological war arising out of a major economic breakdown when the chief concern will be how to get work and money, and especially money. Communism will be the issue!

Ron apparently overlooks the fact that the policies which may lead to the third world war are operating now, and I am not aware that the Labour Peace Fellowship is doing anything about them.

I refer especially to the policy of an expanding economy by which Governments are today promising the people a perpetually expanding power to purchase goods and services.

To provide this demands rapidly rising importations of food and raw materials, and thus expanding exports in order to insure them. Yet the necessary world markets are not available. All the Western Powers are operating this economy and demanding more raw materials and more markets, competition for which is thus becoming frantically keen.

Consequently Britain is already soft-pedalling the expansionist policy. Home consumption must fall for the sake of exports. What this means is that we are reaching the limits of our power to expand our living standards. Other countries will reach this point a little later, the US perhaps last of all. We have reached it first because we must import 50 per cent of our food.

What then is to happen! We are moving towards a two-fold world economic impasse: a colossal struggle for raw materials and for markets, due to a shortage of both. What is the solution? Certainly not International Socialism, as the socialists of every country, no less than non-socialists, are demanding these ascending material living standards.

Major changes are called for—economic, but also spiritual and cultural. Fundamentally it is our values that are wrong. But these we are not yet ready to face; not even socialists and pacifists. WILFRED WELLOCK.

New Longton, Preston. Orchard Lea,

WHY LEAGUE OF YOUTH WAS DISBANDED

From RON KEATING

Former Chairman, Labour League of Youth

THE decision by the Labour Party Executive to disband the Labour League of Youth is viewed with anger and dismay by many sections of the Labour Movement.

The League, which at every opportunity has come firmly down on the side of peace and progress, has suffered an appalling decline during the last few years. The number of branches has dropped from approximately 800 to under 300 while at the same time the Left wing of the movement has grown proportionally stronger—much to the dismay of Transport House.

It is difficult to see how the Executive's proposals are going to advance the recruitment of youth to the Labour Party.

The conclusion reached by many delegates at the Labour Party Conference at Margate was that the Executive were making these proposals, not with a view to strengthening the youth organisation but as a means of breaking up the youth movement into small isolated units; in other words that the motive is political.

We now have the situation in which the Labour Party is the only major party with no youth movement—surely an unusual and appalling situation for a party claiming to lead the way to peace and progress.

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